COMPARISON

BETWEEN THE

INTERNAL AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

OF

THE UNITED STATES,

IN A

SPEECH ON THE HARBOR AND RIVER BILL,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S., MARCH 17, 1846,

BY

MR. J. A. ROCKWELL, OF CONNECTICUT.

WASHINGTON:

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SPEECH.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration a bill making appropriations for the improvement of certain rivers and harbors—

Mr. ROCKWELL said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is my design to vote for the bill now on your table, and I wish to present, in the briefest and plainest manner possible, some of the reasons which will govern me in so doing. It cannot be denied but that objections exist against the adoption of this measure at this time. It is certainly important, before we make arrangements or contracts for the expenditure of money, to be sure that we shall have the money to spend; and if the measures which are now before Congress are passed in the form recommended by the committees of this House, or by the officers of the Government, there will not be one dollar, after meeting the other wants of the Government, to be expended in the improvement of harbors and rivers. I refer not now to the very large appropriations recommended for various purposes by standing committees of this House, but to the tariff bill recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, the subtreasury bill as reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, and the warehousing bill reported by the Committee on Commerce. The discussion of these measures, in this view alone, would open too wide a field of investigation, although it is entirely legitimate so to do on this bill, appropriating nearly a million and a half of dollars. But it must be quite apparent that, aside from the effect produced on the revenue by the passage of the subtreasury bill and the tariff act, the adoption of the warehousing bill would, during the first year at least, greatly diminish the revenue. That bill, among other things, provides, that all goods imported into this country may be deposited in warehouses, there to remain any time not exceeding three years; the duty on the goods not to be paid until they are taken from the warehouse, and that any quantity, not less than a single package, and not less than one hundred dollars in value, may be removed at any time, and the duty paid thereon. Of course all, or nearly all, goods imported will be warehoused, as the importer will thereby save the interest on the amount of the duty from the time of importation until the goods are required to be withdrawn for sale. What will be the average proportion of imported goods in the warehouses during the year, whether one-half, one-third, or one-fourth, I know not; but to that extent, very plainly, there will be a diminution of the first year's revenue. But, sir, if the money is not in the Treasury, it cannot, of course, be expended for harbors and rivers, as I presume no one will be in favor of borrowing money for that purpose; so that it will be a very safe matter for us to pass this bill, if the other bill shall pass reducing the revenue. This bill contains the ordinary clause, that it is to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and the President and his Administration are not so peculiarly the friends of this measure as to allow other branches of the Government to suffer, in order to dig out the harbors and improve the rivers. My word for it, sir, if the revenue proves to be deficient, the first point that will suffer will be the harbors and rivers—the internal improvements of the country.

Another objection which occurs to the mind, in looking at this bill, is the apparently partial and sectional principles upon which it appears to be based. The specific appropriations recommended amount to $1,378,450; of these there are—

On the lakes - - - - - -	$554,000
Mississippi, and its branches - - - -	475,000
Massachusetts and Maine - - - -	64,450
Hudson river - - - - - -	75,000
Delaware, and south of it - - - -	190,000
Repairs in harbors on Atlantic - - - -	20,000
	$1,378,450

Thus it appears, sir, that on the seaboard there is a very small comparative e. penditure, amounting to but $359,450, and on the Mississippi, and its branches, ar on the Lakes, the sum of $1,029,000, nearly thrice as much as the whole seacoast the country. In the view of these facts and figures, I was astonished to hear fro the honorable gentleman from South Carolina, yesterday, the declaration, that t South wished for none of this money, and that the expenditure was almost entir ly at the North and East, when it appears that the New England States, on the se board, have received less than sixty-five thousand dollars, and the State of Del ware, and the States south of it, have appropriations for $190,000; and the enti amount on the seacoast, north of the Delaware, appropriated by this bill is $139 450. The honorable gentleman asks me if I call Delaware a southern State, an if Mason and Dixon's line is not the dividing line? I answer, that the more usu division is between the slaveholding and the free States; but, however that ma be, it certainly is not a northern and eastern State. But surely Savannah an Charleston are southern cities, and the States of South Carolina and Georgia a southern States, and $75,000 are appropriated to the improvement of those tw harbors, and but $64,450 on the whole seacoast of the northern and eastern State of New England; and in my own State of Connecticut not one dollar is recom mended for the improvement of its harbors. And yet, sir, in my own distri alone, the tonnage of vessels owned is 48,608 tons, while South Carolina an Georgia together own but 38,260 tons—nearly one-third more in one district of m State than in all South Carolina and Georgia.

But, sir, although there is this gross inequality in the appropriations recommend ed by the committee in this bill, if the appropriations which are recommended ar national in their character, and the importance of the work is sufficient to justif the expenditure recommended in the several cases, I shall sustain the bill. I re pudiate every idea of bargaining and log-rolling, in order to accomplish this or an other measure; but I repudiate, no less, the exclusion of any one section of the coun try from the beneficent operation of this important system of public improvement.

I sustain these measures for the improvement of harbors and rivers, because believe them to be both constitutional and expedient. I shall not embark in th discussion of the constitutional question, because I believe the subject to be entire ly exhausted. Nothing can be more clear to my mind, than that the power t regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, confers o Congress the most ample power to improve the rivers, and protect and improve th harbors of the country. But some gentlemen, here and elsewhere, have drawn nice distinctions in relation to the improvement of harbors on the seaboard for fo reign commerce, and the improvement of the rivers of the country and the lakes in aid of the internal commerce of the country.

The foreign trade of the country, important as it confessedly is, compared with the internal commerce of the country, has always been over-estimated; and it is the main object of my now addressing the committee, to show that the interna commerce of the country along our seacoast, and our interior navigable waters and the fisheries, are immeasurably more important than our foreign trade with all the nations on the globe.

In order to show that the internal commerce greatly exceeds in amount our fo-
gn commerce, I shall refer to some facts which will give a forcible illustration
it. The registered tonnage of the United States, as shown by the last published
ort of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the 30th of June, 1844, was 1,068,764
s; embracing, not only vessels engaged in the foreign trade, but vessels engaged
the whale fishery, amounting to 168,293 tons. The enrolled and licensed
nage, including only vessels engaged in the coasting trade, was 1,211,330 tons.
t these vessels are not only more numerous, but they make far more frequent
sages than vessels embarked in the foreign trade. This will be illustrated by
fact, that, in 1844, the tonnage of boats on the New York canals was 117,453
s, and the quantity of goods transported was 1,816,586 tons. But we have fur-
hed us in an authentic form, by the census of 1840, a variety of facts and sta-
ics, which show the large amount of the products of this country consumed at
ne, compared with the amount transported abroad.

The amount of the entire exports of this country, with the exception of a mo-
ate amount of foreign goods imported and re-exported, was, in 1844, $99,715,-
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The Indian corn raised in this country is nearly, if not quite, equal to this fo-
gn trade annually. It amounted, in 1840, to 377,532,875 bushels. The
ount of the neat cattle very far exceeds the entire amount of our foreign com-
rce, being, in 1840, 14,971,586 head; and, at $10 per head, they amount to
9,715,860.

The very swine are more in value than our entire exports, being in number
301,293, which, at $4 per head, amount to $104,205,172.

Potatoes, 108,298,060 bushels.

Horses and mules, 4,335,669, at $40 per head, equal $173,426,760.

Wheat, 84,823,272 bushels.

Oats, 123,071,341 bushels.

If you compare these amounts with the exports of agricultural produce from this
ntry, how trifling is the amount thus exported, and how entirely disproportioned
s real or comparative value to this country, is the importance attached to the
nges of the British tariff, or any other foreign tariff, on agricultural products!
e whole amount of all the agricultural products exported from this country to
whole world, with the exception of rice, cotton, and tobacco, by the last pub-
ed report of the Secretary of the Treasury, was $15,295,186; less than one-
f the products of the dairy in a single year, the value of that product being
,787,008, and less than one *fortieth part* of the amounts consumed in this
ntry in the same period of time.

This very product of the dairy, or the products of a single branch of artisan la-
, boots and shoes, are either of them greater than the annual product of all the
l and silver mines in the world. That average annual product is estimated,
hose most competent, at the sum of $30,000,000, and either the products
ne dairy, or the shoemaker's shop, exceed that amount.

Nor are these statements true in relation to this country alone; it is true the
ld over, that the home market is the chief market; that the home commerce is
chief commerce; that the internal intercourse, business, prosperity, is far more—
neasurably more—to be considered and valued, than all foreign trade or inter-
rse. Allusion has been made in some former debates to the construction of a
road to the Pacific ocean, and gentlemen seemed to think that the China trade
ld afford an important support to that road. Without having the figures be-
me I say, with entire confidence, that the Reading railroad, in Pennsylvania,
kly transports a greater quantity in weight, of coal and other merchandise, than
whole amount, in tons, of goods annually exported and imported from China.
e prevailing opinion is a most mistaken one on this subject. Even within the

limits of our own country, the goods or persons transported between remote points in the country, compared with those going but a short distance, is very small. We are ever, in our foreign trade and in home trade, like the dog in the fable—in grasping for the shadow throwing away the substance. This is seen on all the great thoroughfares of travel and trade in the country; the intercourse between towns, and counties, and districts, is far the most extensive and important, as that between States is superior to the trade with foreign countries. A few facts will illustrate this.

On the Erie canal, in the State of New York, for a number of years after it was finished for the whole distance between Albany and Buffalo, the amount of the merchandise transported through the entire canal was only about two and a half per cent. of the entire amount; about $\frac{3}{4}\frac{9}{0}$ths of the receipts were for goods or persons going but a portion of the distance, and either received or discharged at intermediate points between Albany and Buffalo; and although there is a new world open at the West since that time, and the amount of intercourse and business has become immense with the seaboard, yet it is true at this moment that the local business is still superior to the *through* business on that canal.

The same facts are disclosed on all the great thoroughfares of the country. On that great thoroughfare, the Hudson river, the receipts by the various steamboats for passengers going but a part of the distance between New York and Albany, are far more than for those passing the whole distance between those two points; and if an accurate estimate could be made, it would be, I think, found that of the receipts for passengers in public conveyances between New York and Buffalo, not one-tenth part would be for persons passing over the whole distance. I have in my possession various official returns from various railroad and steamboat companies further illustrating this subject, but I abstain from an array of figures on this point. They are, however, important, not only as giving a more just view of the value of our home industry and intercourse, but should be borne in mind by persons or corporations embarking in the construction of railroads, canals, and other similar enterprises. Without local support, without aid of a most important kind from its borders, no such work can be sustained if designed to connect remote points. In this view the splendid scheme, very sincerely and enthusiastically urged, to build a railroad to the Pacific, is at the present time one of the most absurd of schemes. If constructed without the charge of a dollar, no Government or individual could afford to run it. The necessary current expenses would be more than four fold the entire receipts.

As a further illustration of the extent and value of our home industry, I ask leave to refer you to the most interesting facts, disclosed in a recent very minute official examination in the State of Massachusetts, contained in a volume of nearly four hundred pages. A summary of the entire return, shewing the value of the articles manufactured in the commonwealth, the amount of capital invested, and the number of hands employed, gives the following result:

The value of the articles manufactured - -	$114,478,443
The capital invested - - - - -	$59,145,767
Hands employed - - - - -	152,766 persons
In addition to this, the value of the cattle, stock, &c., returned, is - - - - -	$10,256,821

We thus see that the products of the industry of a single State exceed in value our entire foreign exports; and it may not be amiss to remark, in passing, that of this very large amount in this very head quarters of the cotton and woollen manufactures, that the amount of the manufactures of cotton is but $12,193,449, and of wool but $8,877,478, while the manufactures of boots and shoes for the same year amount to $14,799,140. This amount of boots and shoes is very nearly equal to the entire amount of the agricultural productions of this country exported to all the world, except rice, cotton, and tobacco; and greater than the entire cotton crop of South Carolina.

The principal attack by the free traders generally, and the Secretary of the Treasury n particular, is upon the extensive manufacturers of cotton and woollen goods, as be- ng the persons mainly protected by the present tariff bill—advancing that most pre- ious absurdity that the protection of a particular branch of manufacture injures he laborer and benefits the capitalist, and that an increase in the profits and con- sequent increased competition and increased demand for labor, will not increase the price of wages. But however this may be, these facts show that of the hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of goods annually manufactured in this country, a small comparative amount is of the manufactures of cotton and wool; and the Secretary and all his followers will find to their cost that the industrious portion of the country, on the land and in the workshop, and in the cotton mill, too, understand their own nterest better than he, and have found from their own experience that a home rade is better than a foreign trade; that the interchange of the products of labor between the farmer and manufacturer and artisan, is for the benefit of all.

Time would fail me in showing the comparative importance of this domestic rade from these facts alone—how much more in amount of all the productions of he West at this time are consumed in the State of Massachusetts alone, than are xported to all foreign nations—how much more to be relied upon for permanency nd certainty is this home market for the products of the farmer and the mechanic —how much less the cost of transporting the several articles and exchanging them t home than abroad.

My design was to show the value of the industry of the country, and the much reater quantity and value of the products of land and mechanical labor consumed n the country than exported from it.

Nor is it from any peculiarity connected with this country, owing to its age or condition; so that what may be true of the United States is not true of other na- ions; or that it is true of this country now, but will not be so when the country is older and its commerce more extended. It is true at this moment of every nation on the globe. In relation to France, from recent official returns, the internal in- dustry of France is estimated at the sum of 8,600,000,000 francs: the exports in he year 1842 were 1,065,400,000 francs—the exports being less than one-eighth of the productive industry of the country. And in relation to Great Britain, the great commercial nation of the world, whose manufactures have been nurtured nd strengthened and matured by centuries—whose commercial marine is their glory and their pride, and the wonder of the world—the same facts exist in an equally striking degree. The oats and beans and barley of England annually ex- ceed the entire amount of their foreign exports! The value of the manufactures of cotton alone in England are not far behind the entire amount of the exports from England to all nations of all English productions!

These facts show the immense annual productions of the industry of this coun- ry, with its still more ample resources, already nearly equalling, if not quite, the nnual productions of the kingdom of France, and yearly increasing with a most mazing rapidity. Before the harbors can be improved, embraced in this bill— before the obstructions can be removed, impeding the navigation of these rivers— he figures which I have now given will be far, very far, below the truth. Before he majority of the members of this House shall have attained to the ordinary limit of human life, our population will have doubled, and the amount and value of the productive industry of this country will have increased in at least as great a ratio.

With these facts before us, sir, the committee will be fully prepared to believe what I have said as to the internal commerce of this country and its comparative mportance. I will only add a few facts, out of many, showing still more directly he amount and relative importance of it.

In the year 1844 the tonnage on the New York canals of goods transported was ,816,586 tons, valued at $92,750,874. The value of these, it will be perceived,

is nearly that of our entire exports to foreign nations, and the number of tons cannot be far short of the quantity exported from the country.

There is no direct mode with which I am acquainted of ascertaining the precise number of tons exported in any year from the United States. But by the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury we learn that the tonnage of vessels cleared from the United States in the year ending January 30, 1844, was—

American vessels - - - - -	2,010,924 tons.
Foreign vessels - - - - -	906,814
	2,917,738

Thus, if all the vessels were on every voyage fully laden, and carried an amount equal to their tonnage, the New York canals transported an amount equal in weight to about $\frac{2}{3}$ of all our exports.

The tonnage of merchandise, of all kinds, on the Mississippi and its branches, in 1843, was estimated, from authentic sources, at 1,800,000 to 2,000,000 tons; and the commerce of these rivers was valued at $225,000,000.

As a further illustration of the commerce of these rivers, I would point you to the last official returns published, showing on these rivers steamboats of a tonnage of 126,275 tons; while at the same time we learn, from equally authentic official sources, that the entire tonnage of the steamboats in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and their dependencies, was but 82,716 tons.

But, sir, let us compare, for a moment, some branches of this foreign commerce with some portions of this internal trade. For fear of wearying the committee I will select but a few out of many examples. I will take, for example, the harbor of Cleveland, which, we are informed by gentlemen on this floor was, in common with all the harbors on the southern shore of Lake Erie before appropriations were made by the General Government, no harbor at all; bars were at the mouths of all these rivers, on which, at certain seasons of the year, a man might walk dry shod, as a late distinguished member of this House, Mr. Whittlesey, has informed me he has repeatedly done.

The imports and exports of Cleveland, in 1844, amounted to the sum of $11,195,703.

Compare this with our entire trade with every port on the Mediterranean sea:

The exports to all ports on the Mediterranean for the year ending 30th June, 1844, were - - - - - -	$3,862,907
The imports during the same time - - - -	2,728,346
	$6,591,255
Add to this the exports from this country to all the ports in South America for the same year - - - - -	4,611,293
	$11,202,548

And you have this remarkable fact, that this single port, which, a few years since, was barred against vessels of any size, has now a commerce equal to our entire commerce in the Mediterranean, added to our entire export to all South America! We hear, sir, much of our Mediterranean trade and our South American trade; and we build ships, and man them, at great expense, and send them abroad to protect our commerce in those seas; and these objects are confessedly of high national importance. I would not undervalue this commerce. I would not cease to protect it. I would not diminish, by so much as a single gun, our force on the ocean; but I must be allowed to say, that the distinction which would make the one constitutional and the other unconstitutional—which would regard the one as national and the other not national—which would find sufficient and ample

power to protect and encourage the one and none for the other, must be most remarkable; I must say, absurd. If a vessel at Cleveland is loaded with a cargo of wheat, and passes through the Welland canal, and discharges its cargo at Oswego, on Lake Ontario, it is domestic commerce; and no facilities can be furnished for it. But if the same vessel lands its cargo at a port on the British side of Lake Ontario, it is foreign commerce, which can be protected and encouraged. I select this port of Cleveland by way of illustration, because it is one of the ports for which a small appropriation is recommended in the bill.

I will allude to only one other port. The imports of the city of Buffalo annually exceed the whole amount of our exports to all the nations of the globe, except England and France, and their possessions.

The whole amount of domestic exports in 1844 - - -		$99,715,179
To England and her possessions - - -	$58,737,307	
To France and her possessions - - -	13,724,237	
		72,461,534
		$27,253,635

I fear, sir, that I may have wearied you and the committee by this array of figures, and I desist from presenting many others, which I have at hand, in proof of the principle that the domestic commerce of the country is by far the most important, and most entitled to the support of the General Government.

An honorable gentleman has said (Mr. PAYNE, of Alabama,) that this Government was established with the view of regulating our external concerns, leaving all internal matters to be regulated by the States.

I utterly deny this position. The Government is not so powerless as it is thus represented. There is nothing in the Constitution which sustains any such strange and suicidal principle. The first duty of every Government is to protect its great domestic interests; and it is especially the main, and most important duty of this union of States, "to regulate commerce among the several States," and a secondary duty, and one not to be omitted, is "to regulate commerce with foreign nations."

I cannot stop, sir, to argue against the strange and absurd idea that the water must be salt in order to give Congress the power to make the improvement—that the tide must ebb and flow—or the very ludicrous idea that the improvement must be below a port of entry; which last constitutional difficulty is removed, not by amending it in the mode prescribed in the Constitution itself, but by the action of Congress making a port of entry above the proposed improvement, and then proceeding very solemnly to vote the work to be national and constitutional! If any man has ever taken a *voyage* from Buffalo to Chicago, a thousand miles of continuous navigation, in the floating palaces which are rapidly filling these lakes, and has coasted along these five thousand miles of *seacoast*, as it may well be called, on the American shore of the several lakes, or has touched at the various ports on the navigable waters of the Mississippi, and its branches, presenting a *coast* of more than twenty thousand miles—if, in these voyages, he has not shut his eyes to the evidences of present wealth and prosperity, of extended navigation and vast commerce all around him; and if, without being at all a man of imagination, he is a man of figures, and sits down with the proverbial caution of my own countrymen, to *calculate* the future growth and prosperity of this country, and is told that whereas there are now 64 steamers on the upper lakes, in the year 1818, there was not one; that whereas there was in the same year, on the Mississippi and its tributaries, not a steamer and but few vessels of any kind; whereas but thirty years ago, the population of these Western States was but a handful, they now number many millions of hard-working, intelligent men—if, in the view of all this, this traveller should drink of the pure and beautiful waters of Lake Huron, and declare that it had not the requisite constitutional saltness; and loving, as I do myself,

the broad, blue ocean, should turn up his nose at the turbid stream of the "father of rivers," and declare that it was but a "spring branch" after all; and should insist that the Government was powerless because the tide did not rise in this river, or because Congress had not seen fit to establish a port of entry, or because this was a local matter, and not of general national interest,—he would justly be considered, if not an insane man, certainly a second Rip Van Winkle, if, indeed, he should not be suspected to have descended directly from the moon, or some more remote planet. To a person who has actually travelled over these waters, and become familiar with them, these objections and constitutional scruples appear most exquisitely ludicrous. I do not say, sir, that these constitutional expositors are insane men or foolish men; not at all. There are many of them of decided ability and most unquestioned talent. But the difficulty is, that years ago they adopted a theory which in the beginning was only wrong, but is now absurd. They cannot *realize*, even if they believe, by any display of figures, the immense extent of the commerce on the coast, and in the interior of the country, and the only way to wake up these constitutional dreamers from their lethargy, is to send them upon a journey of a few thousand miles along our seacoast and on the inland waters of the country.

But, sir, it should be borne in mind that in another point of view these improvements for our internal commerce are not only far more useful, but more clearly national in their character, than for the foreign trade. A vessel arriving from abroad discharges its cargo at some port on the seaboard; if the harbor is one requiring improvement, and receive the aid of the General Government, the owner of the vessel and these goods and others are thereby benefitted. I consider such improvements, although peculiarly beneficial to a particular class of persons, or a particular State or city, as general and public and national; but they are far less so than most of the improvements specified in this bill.

A cargo of flour leaves Chicago, in the State of Illinois, belonging to a Massachusetts merchant. By the improvement of that harbor the navigation is rendered more safe and the insurance less. The vessel will doubtless find it convenient, and in case of a storm necessary, to find shelter in Southport, Racine, or Milwaukie, on Lake Michigan. If a vessel of a heavy draught of water, she will, of course, be benefitted by that most important improvement of the St. Clair flats. The vessel at Buffalo, by the improvement proposed there, is enabled more safely to enter and to discharge its cargo. After passing through the New York Canal; it is facilitated in its passage by the improvements on the Hudson, and as the owner of the flour wishes to send it into the interior of Massachusetts, he sends it to Norwich, in Connecticut, where, by the aid of the improvement of the river Thames, it is more readily hastened to its destination.

Now, here are four of the harbor and river improvements embraced in this bill, and one which I am soon to propose, each directly aiding an ordinary commercial enterprise, and a number of others affording indirect aid. The case which I have instanced is of every day occurrence, and the same is true with a cargo from Pittsburg to New Orleans, and thence by the seaboard to some southern port. In this case, we have the grain grown in the interior of Illinois, and the labor of the miller—then the transporter to Chicago—the merchant there—the ship owner on the lakes—the warehouse man and agent at Buffalo—the boatman on the canal—the tolls to the State of New York, the proprietor of the canal—the owner of the packet from the Hudson river to the Thames—the railroad proprietor in Connecticut—the manufacturer in the interior of Massachusetts, and the owner in Boston.

Is there any foreign enterprise where as large a section of the country, as various interests, in all parts of the Union, are involved, as in this and other enterprises of a similar character?

Again, sir, the foreign and domestic commerce of the country are so united and mingled as to render it impossible to separate the two. When a cargo of merchandise arrives from abroad, a very small portion of it remains at the port of discharge. The most of it, and to a considerable extent in the original packages, is sent out to the different portions of the country. It is quite as important for the importer of these goods to improve the harbors on the coast and in the interior for the facilitating the coasting trade, and the internal commerce of the country, as the port at which the cargo is first landed. A large portion of it passes through the very channel which I have indicated, and finds its way to the remote West, benefitted by some three or four or five different improvements stated in this bill. The same is true if shipped to some of the smaller seaports on the coast, or to ports on the Western rivers.

It is thus quite safe to say that those interested in foreign goods imported into this country, considering the various and diversified improvements in the country, are more benefitted by these improvements in the aggregate, than by the improvements of the principal ports at which the goods arrive. On the other hand, the grain grower or produce merchant at the West, or the manufacturer of the East or Middle States, or the cotton grower of the South, in exchange sending abroad their several products, are alike benefitted in the various facilities afforded in sending them to the seaboard, and thence to foreign nations. So that, if our object was to aid our foreign commerce, we should do so most effectually, not by merely improving the harbors of New York and New Orleans, if they should at any time happen to require it, because these ports are only the medium through which this commerce is carried on with all parts of the country, but by opening avenues wherever, throughout the whole country, the commerce of the country in amount and importance would justify the expenditures—so that the intercourse between the foreigner and the consumer in this country may be in the best way facilitated. I am almost ashamed, sir, in an American Congress to find it necessary to give any prominence to any such argument as this, in order to show a work to be national, and instead of relying on the internal commerce of the country as most worthy of consideration, to be obliged to urge upon any one as one of the strongest recommendations of these works, that they aid the foreign dealer—the foreign importer—the foreign manufacturer, as they most undoubtedly do.

But, sir, there is no one port in this country, even the most largely embarked in foreign trade, whose domestic trade is not far greater than their foreign trade. In relation to Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other commercial cities of less size, the proportion is very great in favor of the coasting trade and the internal commerce of the country over the foreign trade; and in the great commercial emporium, the city of New York, the commerce of that city with other parts of that State and the whole country is immeasurably more important than her foreign commerce. This is shown not only by the arrival of vessels at her port coastwise, as compared with the arrivals from abroad, but in the steamers for the East, and the steamers and tow-boats on the Hudson river. Without having the details before me, and without knowing how the fact is, I presume that the amount and value of merchandise received at New York annually by vessels of all sorts navigating the Hudson river alone, is equal to the whole amount of goods exported from that port to other countries. So that, even in relation to these large cities, and those important seaports, any improvement or protection, although designed mainly in aid of foreign trade, and by many vindicated solely on that ground, the home industry and commerce of the country, in spite of these foreign advocates, is still more benefitted than the foreign trade itself.

But, sir, it is vain and idle to undertake to separate these interests. They are intimately and indissolubly united, and constitute in any other nation, the world over, a part of their national system. They are a portion of "the American sys-

tem," which sustains and protects all interests—" what God has joined together, let not man put asunder."

I need not say, sir, that I have no hostility to the seaboard. I live near to it. I have no distaste for salt water; I have been born and bred near to it, and nothing would induce me to remove far from it. The ebbing and flowing of the tides on the broad ocean surely afford no argument against any improvement in my estimate. But although near the salt water, my own interests, and those whom I represent, are identical with those who live on the Lakes and the Mississippi. Our commerce is entirely American. In my own district, although as I have said, there is a tonnage amounting to 48,608 tons, there is scarcely a vessel engaged in the foreign trade. The fisheries, especially the whale fishery and the coasting trade, constitute the commerce of that district. This commerce, you see, is not small. The tonnage of these vessels is nearly equal to 5-8ths of the entire tonnage of the upper Lakes. The amount of tonnage on lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, is—

60	Steamers - - - - - - -	21,500 tons.
20	Propellers - - - - - - -	6,000 "
50	Brigs - - - - - - -	11,000 "
270	Schooners - - - - - - -	42,000 "
		80,500 tons.

There is also another consideration in relation to the superior claims of this domestic commerce over the foreign commerce of the country. The former is carried on almost entirely by American seamen; the latter by a very large proportion of foreigners. The sailors on the inland waters of the country, in the coasting trade and the fisheries, are not only Americans, having strong attachments to their country and its institutions, but are equal to any seamen in the world. I am informed that at this moment more than one-half of the seamen on board of our Government vessels are foreigners, most of whom are unnaturalized; and the same is true in evasion of the act of Congress in our merchant ships. I need not say, sir, that I have no hostility to foreigners; I would, on the contrary, adopt a liberal course in relation to them, and have no fears in so doing. But any one must see, that in case of a war with a foreign country, an important arm of attack and defence will be paralized by having in our ships the majority who recognise and owe their allegiance to a foreign power, and possibly that very power with whom we may be contending. It is no discredit to such persons to say, that if they fought at all against their own countrymen, it would not be with the hearty, resolute, determined courage which alone will ensure success. The American seaman fights for his home and fireside, and his country and its institutions which he values as he does his home and fireside, and that is the secret of our success on the ocean during the last war. It is well known, that on the deck of one of our ships which signalized itself during the last war, there were three hundred Yankee freeholders, and when on a distinguished occasion a commander of a Government vessel obtained a promise of the entire crew to meet him at a distant point in mid winter, to resume their service on shipboard, the snows and tempest of a rude climate and an inclement season were braved, and not a man failed to be at the appointed place at the appointed time. Such is the character of the American seaman, and upon such, and such alone, can you rely in the hour of danger and on the day of battle. The American seamen, in the foreign trade, are doubtless men of a similar sort, but the number is small; the proportion of foreign vessels is increasing, and the number of American seamen on board of American ships is even smaller than I have stated above, and our main reliance must be upon those engaged in the coasting trade—the internal commerce and fisheries of the country; these are

he nurseries of our very best seamen, and on that account to be treated with at east equal consideration with our foreign trade.

But this is an American question in another sense. By a careful examination t the custom house, in New York, it appeais that 75 per cent. of the goods imorted from Great Britain, and 90 per cent. from France, are imported by foigners, and most of these aliens, besides what are imported on foreign account; nd it is an erroneous statement in the report of the Committee on Commerce on he warehouse bill, that this is of recent occurrence, and has arisen under the sysem of cash duties. It has been the fact, for many years, that foreigners are the rincipal importers, and the proportion has annually increased. I am very far rom approving of any hostile feeling or legislation in relation to this intelligent and espectable class of persons; all I ask is, that the American citizens, engaged in omestic commerce, should be placed on as high grounds as the foreign manufacrer or the foreign merchant. That commerce, which is entirely in the hands of ur own citizens, is entitled to as much consideration as that which is in the hands f foreigners and strangers. The strictest rule of Christian morals does not require s to love our neighbor better than ourselves.

I have considered, in what I have already said in relation to the comparative nportance of our foreign commerce and domestic commerce, the value of the arcles exported or imported, as compared with the whole amount produced and onsumed at home. In one point of view this is far too favorable a comparison r the foreign commerce. I have no hesitation in saying, that if either is to be minished at the expense of the other, I should much prefer that it should be the reign trade; and the more of these exchanges which can be made between the rmer and the manufacturer, and other classes in the community, *at home*, the more ould it be for the interest of the whole country. Although this view is directly nnected with this subject, it opens too wide a field of inquiry and illustration to e made the subject of extended remark. I shall say but a word or two on the bject. I am aware that it is often urged against the policy which seeks to inease home trade and intercourse and exchanges, in the place of our foreign trade, at thereby a large class of persons would be injured, and a large amount of proerty sacrificed, and a large number of persons thrown out of employment; and at the ship-owners and ship-builders, and seamen, and various other mechanics nd industrious persons, would be sufferers by such a change. Now, sir, the first nswer to this is, that certainly a very large portion, and very possibly all, would nd the same kind of employment in the domestic commerce of the country, which e have seen is by no means to be despised. And the next answer is, that the mount under consideration is not the *value of the goods* exported or imported; it the *value of the labor* employed in the exportation or importation; and this mount, as compared with the aggregate productive industry of the country, is xceedingly trifling and unimportant. The question in this view is the cost of ansportation—the *freight*—and this alone represents the labor employed by the ip-builder and other mechanics, the seamen, and all other laborers. What this ould be on $100,000,000, the amount of our exports, I know not. I probably timate it very high at 10 per cent. of the amount, which gives us, say $10,000,00 against $1,000,000,000, which is a moderate estimate of the annual productie industry of the country; thus representing about one-hundredth part of the labor the country, and only about equal to the avails of the poultry of a single year, I find by the census, which are over nine millions of dollars. If it is said at there are merchants engaged in this trade whose interests are to be regarded, e answer is obvious, that there would be just as many required to carry on the xchanges of American commodities as now. The exchange of the American orn for the American iron requires the aid of the merchant as well as if the exhange is for the foreign iron; and so of any branch and department of business

when the interchange is between persons in our own country, and those interchanges of commodities abroad are *transferred* to our own country. Besides, sir, how poor an argument is it to urge upon the producer of wheat or Indian corn, to inform him that it is proper for him to send his productions abroad for a market, instead of selling it or exchanging it at his own door, in order to aid or sustain a very meritorious person who is willing to act as an intermediate party between himself and the consumer, or that he must have his productions transported 3,000 or 4,000 miles, because there are persons who make it their business to carry property across the ocean for hire. The farmer may well prefer to save the expense of this long journey, and may possibly think it better to have his shoemaker, or his hatter, or his blacksmith, or his weaver at hand, instead of being on the other side of the ocean.

I would not undervalue foreign commerce. There are a sufficient number of things which we cannot produce in this country to render our foreign commerce valuable and important. But I prize our foreign commerce less for any pecuniary results, than the important moral and social results which constantly spring from it. Its tendency is to the mutual improvement of the whole human family, to extend liberal and enlarged views of public policy, sound learning, and Christianity, and to promote peace and harmony among nations. It is on these grounds, and these alone, that it is worth what it costs us. If we are to take the narrow, unnational, anti-American ground urged by some of the strict construction, free trade opponents of this bill, we could save a great deal of money by throwing away our foreign commerce. It would be a great deal cheaper for us to let our "mother country" take this branch of our affairs under her motherly care or possibly some of the more northern nations of Europe, who are content with poor fare and low wages, might make a better bargain with us, and we should not have to pay much for the service. All we should have to do would be to take off all discrimination in favor of American shipping, and while they are in the way of it, we might let them have our coasting trade too on very easy terms. We should thus, by denationalizing ourselves, save the enormous expense of a navy, and other very serious expenses which we now encounter.

I repudiate this narrow and miserable policy, whether applied to the harbors and rivers of the country, its foreign commerce, or its home industry. These interests are national interests, and should so be viewed and treated. And while I would award a just consideration to those embarked in our foreign commerce, I consider the relative economical and pecuniary importance of this commerce as far, immeasurably, less important than the commerce between the several States. The gentlemen embarked in this business require no praise at my hands. Some of them are men of high attainments and intelligence; others seek to make up in pretension and in the display of wealth any mental or moral deficiency. And with all the benefits of foreign commerce which I have freely conceded, it cannot be denied that it has had its attendant evils. Habits of extravagance and expense have been engendered; the simple dignity and purity of the American character has been impaired; a very trifling miserable set of men from abroad, in the main of small reputation at home, have found in the large cities many ready imitators, and have corrupted the morals and ruined the manners of many foolish persons. As valuable as is our foreign intercourse, that between different parts of our own country, whether in the way of commerce or otherwise, is far more beneficial to our citizens than any with foreign nations. We pay very dearly for the refinements of taste or the cultivation of intellect derived from abroad, if acquired by the sacrifice of public morals.

I design, sir, before I sit down, to offer an amendment for the improvement of the navigation of the river Thames, in the State of Connecticut. I am aware that it is next to impossible, without the aid of the report of a committee, to ob-

tain such an amendment of this bill for any work, however meritorious. It has not been recommended by the appropriate department of the Government, and not reported favorably upon by the committee. I consider the claim as one of a very high character, far more so than most of those embraced in this bill. Reasons for the distinction which has been made, it will be difficult to find valid or satisfactory, as I think, to any fair mind.

The following facts exist:

The business which is to be facilitated is important and national in its character.

The work has been surveyed and recommended by a competent engineer.

There has been a considerable expenditure already made, which has demonstrated the success of the plan proposed beyond even the expectations of the Government.

The work can now be perfected for a less sum than the original estimates by many thousands of dollars. And a very small amount of money is required to finish the entire work.

All these statements, except the first, are proved by the official reports of the officers of the Government from time to time. The original estimate was $72,600. The amount already expended is $40,000; and the estimate by Col. Abert, this very month, is, that $20,000 will fully complete the work, being a saving of $12,600 on the estimates of the engineer.

In relation to the extent of the business on this river, I will mention but a few general facts. The tonnage of vessels owned by my constituents I have already mentioned. The amount owned by persons on this river, above and below it, is 37,765 tons. This, however, does not show the business on the river, on the one hand, because most of this tonnage is embarked in the whale fishery, and does not find its way far above the mouth of the river; and, on the other hand, because most of the vessels passing to Norwich on this river are from other States, and not owned in the district. The business of Norwich, which is at the head of navigation on this river, is itself very great; and that of the interior, whose outlet is at Norwich, is still very much greater. It is, besides, the thoroughfare for a very great business between New York and Boston, both of passengers and goods. This section of the country, which finds the usual outlet for its manufactures and other articles of commerce, at Norwich, and, on the other hand, receives the raw material, and the productions of the West, is very extensive, and largely engaged in various branches of manufactures. This region embraces the counties of New London and Windham, in Connecticut, which constitute my own district, and the county of Worcester, in Massachusetts. The two former counties contain, by official returns, more than three-fourths of all the cotton and woollen mills in the State of Connecticut. A railroad, as most of the House know, connects Norwich and the waters of the Thames with the interior and the capital of Massachusetts. Within five miles of the line of this road there were, eight years since, 75 cotton mills and 27 woollen mills, and the number has since increased. In relation to the county of Worcester, in Massachusetts, the recent official returns, taken in each town, with great particularity, under a law of the State of Massachusetts, show, in that county, an aggregate of $11,879,423 as the value of the various manufactures during the last year, containing sixty-two distinct branches enumerated, and many smaller not enumerated. In addition to this very great and increasing business is the very large amount of merchandise passing through this channel between New York and Boston—by steamboats, propellers, and packets, between Norwich and New York, and by railroad to Boston. Those most conversant with this business have made a careful examination, and agree in estimating the entire amount of imports and exports of the city of Norwich through the Thames river as exceeding twenty-five millions of dollars during the last year. Without having the least room to doubt the justness of this estimate,

it is sufficient for my purpose to assume that the amount is but $20,000,000; and I am persuaded that no man in this House will say that the business is not of sufficient importance to receive the aid of Congress. The main portion of this business is not local—a large portion is the traffic between Boston and New York; another portion is between the interior counties of Massachusetts and the city of New York; and most of the residue between portions of Connecticut and other States. If this does not constitute this a *national* improvement, it is difficult to see what work is of that character. Not one-tenth part of the merchandise transported on that river is carried merely from one point in the State to another. The manufactured goods go to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans, and from those cities to the interior of the South and West. And the produce and raw materials imported are from the farms of the West or the plantations of the South. Besides the large amount of foreign merchandise received at second hand from New York and other large cities.

The number of passengers arriving in the regular line of steamboats which passed by way of Norwich the whole distance between Boston and New York, during the last year, were 67,207, and if to this be added the passengers which arrived in these boats and departed from Norwich, but did not go the whole distance, and we have over one hundred thousand passengers in one line of steamboats alone, passing on this river, besides a very large number in propellers, packets, &c.

It thus appears that the amount of imports and exports from the port of Norwich annually is greater than the entire amount of the trade of the United States with all the ports of the Mediterranean and of South America united; that it is nearly if not quite equal to our trade with France; that it falls not far short, if any, of our *exports* to all the nations of the globe, excepting only Great Britain and France, and their possessions. Under these circumstances, it is most egregious trifling to inform us that an improvement of this character is not national and sufficiently important to receive the aid of the Government of the nation for the very trifling amount required.

I am persuaded, sir, that these facts present a claim equally meritorious with most, and as I think, with any one, of the appropriations embraced in the bill, and I know of no good reason for not including this among the works which are to receive the aid of the Government of our common country. I am aware that it is next to impossible to procure the favorable action of the House for any measure not recommended by the committee who reported the bill; and it has been informally intimated, that there are reasons for excluding this and similar claims, entirely aside from, and independent of, the merits of the several works themselves. In addition to the constitutional objection of the works being above a port of entry, another objection is, that the rivers are within a State, and that therefore the works must necessarily be local and not national in their character, and that the President has constitutional scruples, and may veto the bill on this ground, if such works are included. In the first place I claim that gentlemen do most gross injustice to the Chief Magistrate by ascribing to him any such strange and fanciful principles of construing the Constitution. I can understand gentlemen who oppose the whole system of improving the harbors and rivers, however untenable I may consider such arguments. There is a certain degree of consistency, if not force, in their objections; but that any intelligent man can, by any sophistry, adopt these narrow and ludicrous distinctions, is surely not to be presumed, and in the absence of all proof, is not to be believed.

Besides, sir, the President, as one branch of the law-making power, is to act on his own views of obligation, and surely should not control the action of any co-ordinate department of the Government. This House should act independently, and according to its own views of constitutional power and sense of right. The

preservation of this principle is quite as important as the preservation of all the harbors and rivers of the country.

This principle, with the additional fact that the selection of the objects which are to receive the aid of Congress, has been in the highest degree partial and arbitrary, would furnish a sufficient reason, if I chose to avail myself of it, for opposing the entire bill; but I shall not do so. The bill will, on the contrary, receive my vote. I am so clear in relation to the constitutional power of Congress to improve these harbors and rivers, and of the expediency of their doing so, that I will sustain a very imperfect and partial exercise of that power. It is true, that many of the appropriations proposed are for works in sections of the country where they deny the constitutional power of Congress, and oppose all works of this kind; and the aid is asked and expected from the sections of the country who sustain this power, and the expediency of it, although they are, in the measure proposed, almost entirely excluded from the benefits of it. But, sir, the works are, most of them, important and national in their character, and are worthy of the support of the National Government.

On a subject of this sort, all narrow or sectional views should be excluded. The improvement of the harbors of any section of the country benefit the whole country; and it will never furnish any reason to me for opposing any measure, that some portions of the country are more benefitted by a public act than the rest. There is nothing in which the benefits to the whole country are so generally diffused, as in the facilities afforded for the internal commerce of the country. With all the diversities of climate and productions, there is a most intimate connexion, a most harmonious union of interests, between the different sections of the Union; and the prosperity of one section, so far from being opposed to, or inconsistent with, the prosperity of the rest, tends directly to promote the good of all.

Some remarks have been made in this discussion, by some Western gentlemen, which seem to me to be in at least questionable taste, as well as undeserved and unsound. We have been told of the expenditures for fortifications on the seaboard, and the very large annual expenditure for the support of the navy, as though these were matters for the exclusive benefit of those residing on the Atlantic coast. Nothing can be more unfounded than this view of the subject. It is rather difficult to see how the interior can be protected, except by the fortification of the borders of the country, and especially our frontier upon the ocean; and every one knows that a navy is not designed merely to protect the ships of our merchants, but to sustain the character and honor of the country as one of the nations of the earth. It is certainly true, that the protection of our foreign commerce is one of the important objects and duties of this navy, but that is a benefit by no means confined to the ships which carry forward our productions to other lands, but to a much greater amount for the benefit of those whose labor on the soil or in the work-shops has freighted these ships. And a language approaching to menace has been used by some gentlemen on this floor, informing us that the West was very strong in numbers and influence already, and would soon take care of herself; and intimating, if not declaring in express terms, that the East had been heretofore unjust and illiberal toward the West.

So far as the Eastern or New England States are concerned, I deny, in the most emphatic manner, that there is the least shadow of justice in this charge. Never, from the earliest settlement of that section of the country, has there been any but the most cordial and friendly feeling on the part of New England towards the West, which has shown itself always in their legislation and all their public acts of every kind. Why, sir, they are the bone of our bone. The northwest was almost entirely settled from New England, or the descendants of New England. Our friends, and neighbors, and relations are all at the West. There is scarcely a family which has not some of their number who have gone forth to the

fertile regions of that new and growing country. We have no feeling of jealousy toward them—they are our own flesh and blood, and we glory in their prosperity, and growth, and wealth, and power as much as they do themselves. Besides, sir, our interests are identical. We have always felt them to be so, and shown that we felt them to be so. We have endeavored, in every way in our power, to open every avenue of intercourse with them, and by the construction of costly works, to shorten and almost annihilate the space between us. We rejoice too, in the assurance that the same views and feelings prevail at the West toward their brethren who have remained at home, and that no effort of demagogues of any party, in either section, can prevail in essentially weakening, much less in severing, this strong tie which binds us together. The mutual dependence of the East and the West, in all their commercial and pecuniary interests, is as decided and mutually beneficial as between any two Western or any two Eastern States. Not only in relation to harbors and rivers, but in relation to the great question of the protection of domestic industry, and other great national questions, I am sure that not only our interests but our views of public policy will, before long, be the same. We have, sir, no fears of the growth of the Western States, or of their influence in the National Councils.

I not only do not object, but I rejoice that so much has been included in this bill for Western rivers and harbors, and would most freely have given my vote for a still larger amount. I am, from frequent personal observation, well acquainted with the condition and wants of those rivers, and most if not all of the harbors on the Lakes embraced in this bill, and can bear testimony to the importance of the proposed improvements.

No one can accuse us of hostility to the West. Why, sir, at this very session I have introduced a bill for granting to the new States an additional section of land in each township, in support of common schools, and the Committee on Public Lands have determined to report in its favor. And I assure you, sir, and the House, that in this, and all other liberal and just measures toward the West, I represent most faithfully, and, for any thing I know to the contrary, I may say unanimously, the views of my constituents at home.

But, sir, this system has been pronounced by some gentlemen from the South as a system of *plunder*, and the most offensive terms have been used in relation to it. The use of offensive epithets is very easy and very harmless, but I am sure they are gentlemen of too much courtesy and good taste to have resorted to them, were it not that they are most lamentably deficient in facts and argument to sustain their position. I shall not, after the able and constitutional argument which we have listened to in this debate, go over that ground, but I am inclined as briefly as possible to advert to the history of this system, and to show with what consistency and grace our Southern democrats now use this offensive language concerning it; and in doing this, I avail myself, by his kind permission, of the labors of my honorable and distinguished friend from Georgia, (Mr. KING,) who proposes to address the House on this question.

The most important document on this subject, is the very celebrated report of Mr. Gallatin, in 1808, embracing, with the accompanying papers, two hundred folio pages, in which he advocates at length a quite too enlarged system of internal improvements. I will not refer to the details of this report, although Mr. Gallatin has occupied no mean place in the democratic ranks. The next important document is from the pen of Mr. Calhoun, in the year 1818, which may, we think, be said to have given birth to this system. Such was the origin of this system. What has been the progress since that time? The following have been the appropriations since that period for harbors, rivers, and other works of internal improvement:

During Mr. Monroe's administration—

In 1818 - -	$322,984 60	
1823 - -	25,000 00	
1824 - -	208,000 00	
1825 - -	193,000 00	$748,984 60
During Mr. J. Q. Adams' administration - - -		2,175,257 09
" Gen. Jackson's 1st term - - - -		3,974,010 85
" Gen. Jackson's 2d term - - - -		6,868,240 65
" the first year of Mr. Van Buren's adm'n -		2,077,617 16
		$15,844,110 35

After the first year of Mr. Van Buren's administration, the appropriations for arbors and rivers ceased, from want of money in the public treasury.

The foregoing statement contains the full amount of the appropriations for all arbors, and rivers, and roads, since the system was first introduced by Mr. Calhoun, except a portion of the appropriations for the Cumberland road; and the figres, so far as I know, are now for the first time accurately collected from the appropriation bills, by the labor and research of my friend from Georgia.

From this it appears that this system did not originate at the North, but at the South. That it was, and has been throughout, a democratic measure. That both the true republicanism of Mr. Gallatin's and Mr. Monroe's time, and the spurious democracy of modern times, have sustained this system.

Out of less than sixteen millions appropriated in all administrations to these works, $10,842,251 50 were appropriated during the administration of Andrew Jackson—more than two-thirds of the whole amount; and it is a well known fact, that a number of these bills, embracing very heavy amounts, were signed by Gen. Jackson, although sent to him during the very last hours of the session, and that he even expressed an anxiety to have them sent in season, for fear of their being lost by being too long withheld.

As it may be said that the appropriations for which Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren are responsible were of a different character, I append, from the bills themselves, an abstract shewing the nature of these appropriations, during three years of the last term of Gen. Jackson, and one year of Mr. Van Buren.

2d term of Gen. Jackson's administration:

3d March, 1835.—Harbors, - -	$30,000 00		
Roads and rivers, -	21,000 00		
Roads, - - - - -	35,000 00		
Harbors and rivers, -	458,057 03		
Cumberland road, -	646,186 58		
Roads, - - - -	204,320 00	$1,394,563 61	
1836.— Harbors, rivers, &c.	691,035 00		
Cumberland road, -	600,000 00		
Harbors, rivers, &c.	493,100 41	1,784,135 41	
3d March, 1837.—Harbors, riv., &c.	$1,681,762 00		
Cumb'd road, &c.	462,496 63		
		$2,144,258 63	
			$5,322,957 65
First year of Mr. Van Buren's administration:			
Red river, - - -	$70,000 00		
Cumberland road, -	459,000 00		
Roads, - - - -	37,300 00		
Harbors, riv., &c.	1,467,317 16		
Roads, - - - -	44,000 00	$2,077,617 16	

It further appears that appropriations were made, and were signed by Mr. Van

Buren during the first year of his administration, only one hundred thousand dollars short, in amount, of the appropriations during the whole of Mr. Adams' administration.

I am sure, sir, that I only need read these figures, to show how unfounded and ludicrous is the language which has been used in this House in relation to this being a Whig policy, and the talk of Whig plunder and extravagance in relation to this system. I am bound to believe that gentlemen were ignorant of these facts, or they could not have uttered such language.

But, sir, it is said that the North and East are the *plunderers;* that they have not only originated the system, but they have profited by it most, and continue to sustain it from selfish and sordid motives. This is not the first time, sir, that such charges have been made against the North and East, on this and a kindred subject; but they are not only entirely unfounded, but have not the shadow of support. Both the system of protection and of internal improvements originated in other quarters of the country, and were subsequently sustained at the North.

I have taken the pains to examine all the appropriations for harbors and rivers from Mr. Adams' administration, inclusive, to the present time, in order to ascertain the whole amount of appropriations for harbors and rivers, and all works of internal improvements, in the New England States, and I find that out of $15,095,125 65 appropriated, the New England States received but $891,500 64.

When appropriations for these objects were first made by Congress, although the system was sustained as national in its character, and beneficial to the whole country, very small appropriations were made for the New England States, far less than for any other section of the country. From 1825 to 1831 inclusive, the appropriations for New England were $327,563 21. For the Middle States $982,145 20, of which $239,883 were for works on Lakes Erie and Ontario. For the Southern States $498,173, and for the West and Southwest $1,735,640 1, which large sum did not include but a portion of the appropriations for the Cumberland Road. It thus appears that we received the least of any section of the country, although having an extensive sea coast and a very large commerce.

Why, sir, in the three last years of Gen. Jackson's administration, and the first of Mr. Van Buren's, there were appropriated for the Cumberland road alone $2,167,682 21, while from the beginning to the present time, the whole which New England has received has been considerably less than one-half of that sum, being short of nine hundred thousand dollars.

Now, sir, we do not complain of these appropriations for other parts of the country—we never have complained of them. This bill is constructed on the same principle, only rather worse than former bills, of excluding New England to a great degree. But, sir, we shall, many of us, most of us I presume, vote for the bill; but I do complain that we should be abused and denounced as originating the system which we did not originate, and by those who did originate it and received the chief benefit of it. I do complain that when we vote money for improvements at the South and West, that Southern men and Western men should, with the facts before them, abuse us for so doing, and declare in the most earnest and impassioned manner that the North and East are the plunderers of the country. It is not true that we sustain this system because we receive any *peculiar* benefits from it, or that we should be injured more than the rest of the country by the abandonment of it, but because we consider it of value to the whole country, and the good of the whole requires of us the support of it. We are not disposed to shrink from the public burthens, or to receive an undue proportion of the public benefit. We ask no favors of the Government on this question, or on the tariff, or any other subject before Congress. We come not in the attitude of suppliants—all we ask for from Congress is such legislation as conduces to the public good, and the best interests of the *whole* country.